

Message Text

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70

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SAM-01 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, SP

SUBJECT: OPPOSITION GROUPS AGREE ON PREREQUISITES FOR DEMOCRATIC
REFERENDUM/ELECTIONS, CALL FOR NEGOTIATIONS WITH GOVT

1. MOST MADRID-BASED CENTER AND LEFT OPPOSITION
GROUPS, TOGETHER WITH THE REGIONAL COALITIONS REPRESENTED IN
THE "PLATAFORMA DE ORGANISMOS DEMOCRATICOS" (POD), DURING A
NOV 27 MEETING IN MADRID, AGREED FOR THE FIRST TIME ON THE
FOLLOWING SEVEN CONDITIONS WHICH THEY VIEW AS NECESSARY TO
GIVE THE DECEMBER REFERENDUM AND PROMISED 1977 PARLIAMENTARY
ELECTIONS "DEMOCRATIC LEGITIMACY:"

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- (1) RECOGNITION OF ALL POLITICAL PARTIES AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS;
- (2) RECOGNITION, PROTECTION AND GUARANTEE OF POLITICAL AND LABOR FREEDOMS;
- (3) EXPEDITIOUS DISSOLUTION OF THE POLITICAL APPARATUS OF THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT AND GUARANTEE OF THE NEUTRALITY OF THE PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION;
- (4) THE "REAL POLITICAL AMNESTY WHICH THE COUNTRY NEEDS;"
- (5) EQUAL ACCESS TO THE MASS MEDIA, "WHICH IS THE PROPERTY OF THE SPANISH STATE, AND THEREFORE THE SPANISH PEOPLE, AND WHICH IS TODAY MONOPOLIZED BY THE GOVT;"
- (6) NEGOTIATION OF THE PROCEDURES WHICH WILL GOVERN BOTH THE REFERENDUM AND ELECTIONS. "DEMOCRATIC GUARANTEE OF (GOVERNMENTAL) NEUTRALITY AND POLITICAL FREEDOMS" IN BOTH POPULAR CONSULTATIONS; AND
- (7) RECOGNITION OF THE NECESSITY TO PROVIDE AN "INSTITUTIONAL" EXPRESSION FOR THE SPANISH REGIONS AND NATIONALITIES, AND EXPLICIT RECOGNITION OF THEM IN THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE REFERENDUM AND ELECTIONS.

2. THE PARTICIPANTS THEN CALLED FOR THE INITIATION, WITHOUT DELAY, OF GOVT-OPPOSITION NEGOTIATIONS ON THESE CONDITIONS AND ANY OTHER QUESTION "RELATING TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF DEMOCRACY," AND AGREED TO MEET AGAIN ON DEC 1 TO DISCUSS THE FORMATION OF A NEGOTIATING TEAM.

3. THE BRIEF COMMUNIQUE DID NOT SPECIFY WHAT ACTION THE SIGNATORIES WOULD TAKE IF THEIR CONDITIONS WERE NOT MET, AN INDICATION THAT THEY CONTINUE TO BE DIVIDED ON THIS QUESTION. SOME OF THE CENTER AND LEFT (PSP, FPS) WANT TO PLAY DOWN THE REFERNDUM, CHARACTERIZING IT AS A NECESSARY, PRE-DEMOCRATIC FORMALITY TO LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR DEMOCRATIC ELECTIONS. THE PSOE AND PCE, ON THE OTHER HAND, ARE PLUMPING ACTIVELY FOR ABSTENTION IN THE REFERENDUM, ON THE GROUNDS THAT IT IS NOT DEMOCRATIC AND MAY PRESAGE EQUALLY UNDEMOCRATIC PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS IF THE OPPOSITION DOES NOT KEEP THE PRESSURE ON.

4. THE LIST OF SIGNATORIES INCLUDES LIBERALS (SATRUSTEGUI, GARRIGUES), SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION (FERNANDEZ ORDONEZ), CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS (GIL ROBLES, RUIZ GIMENEZ), SOCIALISTS (MUGICA, LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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TIERNO GALVAN), AND COMMUNISTS (SANCHEZ MONTERO, CAMACHO). REPRESENTATIVES WERE ALSO PRESENT FROM CATALAN, VALENCIAN, GALICIAN, BALEARIC AND CANARIES OPPOSITION COALITIONS, ALTHOUGH THE BASQUES ONCE AGAIN DEMURRED, AS DID THE IMPORTANT CONSELL CATALAN. AS FOR MADRID-BASED GROUPS, THE PARTIDO POPULAR ATTENDED AS AN OBSERVER (ACCORDING TO ONE PRESS REPORT, ITS STATUS AS AN "OPPOSITION" PARTY WAS IN QUESTION), AND THE PSOE'S "HISTORICAL" FACTION AND GARCIA LOPEZ'S PSDE, BOTH OF WHICH

HAVE COME OUT IN SUPPORT OF PARTICIPATION IN THE REFERENDUM, WERE ABSENT. ALSO ABSENT WERE CANTARERO'S RSE AND, OF COURSE, ALIANZA POPULAR.

5. THE SATURDAY MEETING MARKS THE FIRST TIME DURING THE TRANSITION THAT A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF THE OPPOSITION CENTER AND LEFT HAVE AGREED ON SUCH AN EXPLICIT COMMUNIQUE (THE VARIOUS "OLLERO DOCUMENTS" WERE MUCH MORE GENERAL IN NATURE). THE PARTICULARLY TOUGH STANCE TAKEN BY INTERIOR MINISTER MARTIN VILLA ON NOV 23 (MADRID 8925), WHEN HE CHARACTERIZED ABSTENTION AS BASICALLY ANTI-DEMOCRATIC AND CONDITIONED GOVERNMENTAL APPROVAL FOR OPPOSITION GROUPS'S REFERENDUM-RELATED ACTIVITIES ON THEIR STATUS--"LEGALIZED, LEGALIZABLE, OR NON-LEGALIZABLE" (I.E., THE COMMUNISTS AND LEFTWARD)--ELICITED A STRONG REACTION FROM THE CENTER AND LEFT OPPOSITON AND MAY HAVE ACTED AS A CATALYST IN GETTING THE SATURDAY PARTICIPANTS TOGETHER. IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT EVEN BEFORE SATURDAY MARTIN VILLA HAD BACKED AWAY FROM HIS EARLIER AGGRESSIVE POSTURE, STILL CRITICIZING ABSTENTION, BUT IN MORE MODULATED TERMS, AND STAYING AWAY FROM ANY PERCEIVED ATTEMPTS TO "DIVIDE" THE OPPOSITION.

6. THE GOVT HAS NOT RESPONDED PUBLICLY TO THE OPPOSITION'S COMMUNIQUE. HOWEVER, AS THE RESULT OF AN EARLIER CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC INITIATIVE (MADRID 8427), REPRESENTATIVES OF THE OPPOSITION CD "EQUIPO" WILL MEET THIS AFTERNOON WITH PRIME MINISTER SUAREZ--THE FIRST SUCH "OFFICIAL" ENCOUNTER--WHEN THE 7 CONDITIONS ARE CERTAIN TO BE AMONG THE PRINCIPAL TOPICS DISCUSSED. BOTH THE "EQUIPO" AND THE OTHER OPPOSITION GROUPS HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS ARE NOT REPRESENTING ANYONE BUT THEMSELVES, BUT IT IS CLEAR THAT THEY WILL BE ACTING AS A COMMUNICATION LINK IN WHAT THE OPPOSITION HOPES WILL BE THE FIRST STEP TOWARD FULL-FLEDGED, SUBSTANTIVE GOVT-OPPOSITON TALKS. STABLER
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